1724 Connecticut Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20009 (202) 234-5570

Dates: October 29-31, 2004

Interviews: 1,014 likely voters

48 Male 52 Female **[109]** 

#### **FINAL**

Study #6049 NBC News/Wall Street Journal October 29-31, 2004

Please note: all results are shown as percentages unless otherwise stated.

# The margin of error for 1,014 interviews is ±3.1%

1a. Are you currently registered to vote at this address?

	Registered	100	CONTINUE	[138]
•	Not registered	-	TERMINATE	
	Not sure	-		

1b. Please tell me how interested you are in the upcoming elections, using a scale from one to ten, on which a ten means that you are very interested in the upcoming elections and a one means that you are not at all interested. You may choose any number from one to ten.

	10/29-		10/16-	
	<u>31/04</u> +		<u> 18/04</u> +	
10	88	CONTINUE	91	[139]
9	12		9	
1-8	-	TERMINATE	-	
Not sure	-		-	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

1c. And did you register to vote within the past twelve months, or have you been registered to vote for longer than that?

	10/29- 31/04+	10/16- 18/04+	
Registered within past 12 months	12	14	[140]
Registered for longer than that	88	86	
Not sure	-	-	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among likely voters ONLY.

2a. How old are you? (IF "REFUSED," ASK:) Well, would you tell me which age group you belong to? +

18-24 25-29		50-54 55-59	9 10	[141-142]
30-34	11	60-64	9	
35-39	8	65-69	7	
40-44	9	70-74	5	
45-49	10	75 and over	8	
		Refused	1	

+ Results shown reflect responses among likely voters ONLY.

2b.	For statistical purposes only, can you please tell me whether you are from a Hispanic or Spanish-speaking
	background? +

Yes, Hispanic	7	[143]
No, not Hispanic	93	
Not sure/refused	-	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among likely voters ONLY.

2c. And, again, for statistical purposes, what is your race--white, black, Asian, or something else? +

White	80	[144]
Black	10	
Asian	1	
Other	2	
Hispanic (VOL)	6	
Not sure/refused	1	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among likely voters ONLY.

3. Using a ten-point scale, please tell me how likely you are to vote in the November second elections for president and Congress. If you are certain that you will vote, pick a number closer to "8," "9," or "10." If it is less likely that you will vote, use a number closer to "1," "2," or "3." You may choose any number from one to ten. +

10, certain to vote	96 3	[145-146]
8	-	
7	-	
6	-	
5	-	
4	-	
3	-	
2	-	
1, less likely to vote	-	
Not sure	1	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among likely voters ONLY.

4. All in all, do you think that things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?

	10/29- 31/04+	10/16-	
	<u>31/04</u> +	<u> 18/04</u> +	
Headed in the right direction	41	40	[147]
Off on the wrong track	47	48	
Mixed (VOL)	11	10	
Not sure	1	2	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among likely voters ONLY.

5. How much difference do you think it will make in the lives of you and your family who wins the upcoming presidential election--a great deal, quite a bit, just some, or very little?

	10/29-	10/16-	
	<u>31/04</u> +	<u> 18/04</u> +	
A great deal of difference	52	52	[148]
Quite a bit of difference	24	26	
Just some difference	13	14	
Very little difference	9	6	
Not sure	2	2	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among likely voters ONLY.

6. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job that George W. Bush is doing as president?

	10/29-		
	<u>31/04</u> +	<u> 18/04</u> +	
Approve	49	48	[149]
Disapprove	48	48	
Not sure	3	4	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among likely voters ONLY.

7a. Looking ahead to the upcoming presidential election, do you feel that George W. Bush deserves to be reelected, or do you feel that he does not deserve to be reelected?

	10/29- 31/04+	10/16- 18/04+	
Yes, deserves to be reelected	49	49	[150]
No, does not deserve to be reelected	48	48	
Not sure	3	3	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among registered likely voters.

7b. What is your preference for the outcome of the upcoming congressional elections—a Congress controlled by Republicans or a Congress controlled by Democrats?

	10/29-	10/16-	
	<u>31/04</u> +	<u> 18/04</u> +	
Republican-controlled Congress	43	44	[151]
Democrat-controlled Congress	44	44	
Not sure	13	12	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among likely voters ONLY.

8. Now I'm going to read you the names of several public figures and organizations, and I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name, please just say so.

	Very <u>Positive</u>	Somewhat <u>Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	Somewhat <u>Negative</u>	Very <u>Negative</u>	Don't Know Name/ <u>Not Sure</u>	
George W. Bush							[152]
October 29-31, 2004+	38	13	5	11	33	-	
October 16-18, 2004+	39	11	5	12	33	-	
John Kerry							[153]
October 29-31, 2004+	22	22	11	12	32	1	
October 16-18, 2004+	23	22	11	12	32	-	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among likely voters ONLY.

9a. If the election for president were held today, and George W. Bush and Dick Cheney were the Republican candidates, John Kerry and John Edwards were the Democratic candidates, and Ralph Nader and Peter Camejo were running as independent candidates, for whom would you vote? (IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean at this time?

George W. Bush and Dick Cheney	10/29- 31/04+ 47 1 46 1 1	CONTINUE	10/16- 18/04+ 47 1 46 2 1	9/04+ 48 2 44 2 1	[154]
Depends (VOL) None/other (VOL) Not sure	- 2 2	Skip to Q.9c	- 1 2	1 2	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among likely voters ONLY.

# (ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO MAKE A CHOICE IN Q.9a.)

9b. Would you definitely vote for (CANDIDATE CHOSEN IN Q.9a), probably vote for (CANDIDATE CHOSEN IN Q.9a) but are still thinking about it, or are you just leaning toward voting for (CANDIDATE CHOSEN IN Q.9a)?

	Bush-Cheney Voters		Kerry-E Vot	dwards ers	
•	10/29-	10/16-	10/29-	10/16-	•
	<u>31/04</u> +	<u> 18/04</u> +	<u>31/04</u> +	<u> 18/04</u> +	
Definitely vote for ticket	93	93	88	87	[155]
Probably vote for ticket	4	4	7	6	
Just leaning toward voting for ticket	3	3	5	7	
Not sure	-	-	-	-	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among likely voters ONLY.

#### (ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO DO NOT CHOOSE KERRY/EDWARDS IN 0.9a.)

9c. Even though you are not supporting John Kerry and John Edwards now, what are the chances that you might support them in the upcoming election--is there a fair chance that you might support them, a small chance, just a very slight chance, or no chance at all you might support them?

	10/29-	10/16-	
	<u>31/04</u> +	<u> 18/04</u> +	
Fair chance	5	7	[156]
A small chance	5	5	
Just a very slight chance	7	8	
No chance at all	81	79	
Don't know/refused	2	1	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among likely voters ONLY.

# (ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO DO NOT CHOOSE BUSH/CHENEY IN Q.9a.)

9d. Even though you are not supporting George W. Bush and Dick Cheney now, what are the chances that you might support them in the upcoming election--is there a fair chance that you might support them, a small chance, just a very slight chance, or no chance at all you might support them?

	10/29- <u>31/04</u> +	10/16- <u>18/04</u> +	
Fair chance	5	3	[157]
A small chance	5	6	
Just a very slight chance	6	9	
No chance at all	82	81	
Don't know/refused	2	1	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among likely voters ONLY.

#### (ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO MAKE A CHOICE IN Q.9a.)

9e. And approximately how long ago did you decide for whom you were going to vote? Was it in the last few days, about a week ago, around the time of the presidential debates, around the time of the national party conventions in July and August, or was it before the conventions? +

	All	Bush- Cheney	Kerry- Edwards	
	<u>Voters</u>	<u>Voters</u>	<u>Voters</u>	
In the last few days	2	2	2	[158]
About a week ago	2	2	3	
Around the time of the presidential debates	14	10	18	
Around the time of the national party				
conventions in July and August	11	12	9	
Before the conventions	69	73	66	
Have not decided (VOL)	1	-	1	
Not sure	1	1	1	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among likely voters ONLY.

10. Please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statement. + \*\*

No matter who wins the election, America will have a good president.

Strongly agree	8	[159]
Somewhat agree	22	
Somewhat disagree	20	
Strongly disagree	45	
Not sure	5	

<sup>\*\*</sup> Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

Have you seen, read, or heard anything in the past couple weeks about George W. Bush or his campaign for president? (IF "YES," ASK:) Has what you have heard given you a more favorable or less favorable impression of George W. Bush?

		10/16-	
	<u>31/04</u> +*	<u> 18/04</u> +	
Yes—more favorable	28	32	[160]
Yes—less favorable	34	37	
Yes—no difference (VOL)	31	26	
No, have not seen/read/heard anything	6	4	
Not sure	1	1	

<sup>\*</sup> Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

11b. Have you seen, read, or heard anything in the past couple weeks about John Kerry or his campaign for president? (IF "YES," ASK:) Has what you have heard given you a more favorable or less favorable impression of John Kerry?

	10/29- 31/04+*	10/16- 18/04+	
Yes—more favorable	35	39	[161]
Yes—less favorable	36	36	
Yes—no difference (VOL)	24	21	
No, have not seen/read/heard anything	5	3	
Not sure	-	1	

<sup>\*</sup> Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

11c. Does Bill Clinton's campaigning on behalf of John Kerry make you feel more inclined to vote for John Kerry, less inclined to vote for John Kerry, or does it not make a difference to you either way? + \*\*

More inclined to vote for John Kerry	15	[162]
Less inclined to vote for John Kerry	22	
Does not make a difference either way	63	
Not sure	-	

<sup>\*\*</sup> Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among likely voters ONLY.

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12. There are many important issues in this presidential campaign. When it comes to deciding for whom you will vote for president, which one of the following is the single most important issue in deciding for whom you will vote? (IF "ALL," ASK:) Well, if you had to choose the most important issue, which would you choose?

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY THE HIGHEST PERCENTAGE

10/29-	10/16-	
<u>31/04</u> +	<u> 18/04</u> +	
24	24	[163]
22	22	
	14	
17	27	
9	9	
3	2	
3	2	
	31/04+ 24 22 22 22 17 9	31/04+     18/04+       24     24       22     22       22     14       17     27       9     9

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among likely voters ONLY.

- 13. Please tell me which of the two following sets of issues is more important to you in deciding for whom you will vote in the presidential election?
  - Set A: Terrorism and social issues and values
  - Set B: The economy and health care

	10/29-	10/16-		
	<u>31/04</u> +	<u> 18/04</u> +	<u>9/04</u> +	
Set A/terrorism and values more important	49	51	47	[164]
<b>Set B</b> /economy and health care more important	39	38	42	
Both equally important (VOL)	12	11	10	
Not sure	-	-	1	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among likely voters ONLY.

14. Regardless of who you are voting for, when it comes to **(READ ITEM)** campaign, would you say that they have a message and you know what they would do if elected, or would you say that they do NOT have a message and you do NOT know what they would do if elected?

	Have A Message/Know What They Would Do If <u>Elected</u>	Do Not Have A Message/Do Not Know What They Would Do <u>If Elected</u>	Some Of Both (VOL)	Not <u>Sure</u>	
John Kerry and John Edwards'					[165]
October 29-31, 2004+ **	51	42	4	3	
October 16-18, 2004+	52	42	4	2	
September 2004 +	38	52	7	3	
George W. Bush and Dick Cheney's					[166]
October 29-31, 2004+ **	72	24	2	2	
October 16-18, 2004+	77	20	2	1	
September 2004 +	71	21	5	3	

<sup>\*\*</sup> Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among likely voters ONLY.

15a. How much confidence would you have in John Kerry in protecting the United States and responding to terrorist threats--a great deal, guite a bit, just some, or very little?

	10/29-	10/16-	
	<u>31/04</u> +*	<u> 18/04</u> +	
A great deal of confidence	22	28	[167]
Quite a bit of confidence	18	19	
Just some confidence	22	18	
Very little confidence	24	27	
No confidence at all (VOL)	12	8	
Not sure	2	-	

<sup>\*</sup> Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

15b. How much confidence do you have in George W. Bush in protecting the United States and responding to terrorist threats--a great deal, quite a bit, just some, or very little?

	10/29- 31/04+*	10/16- 18/04+	
A great deal of confidence	40	44	[168]
Quite a bit of confidence	17	22	
Just some confidence	15	15	
Very little confidence	20	12	
No confidence at all (VOL)	8	7	
Not sure	-	-	

<sup>\*</sup> Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

16a. How much confidence do you have in John Kerry to make the right decisions and have the right policies on domestic issues such as health care and the economy?

	10/29-	
	<u>31/04</u> +**	
A great deal of confidence	20	[169]
Quite a bit of confidence	21	
Just some confidence	19	
Very little confidence	27	
No confidence at all (VOL)	11	
Not sure	2	

<sup>\*\*</sup> Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among likely voters ONLY.

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among likely voters ONLY.

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among likely voters ONLY.

16b. How much confidence do you have in George W. Bush to make the right decisions and have the right policies on domestic issues such as health care and the economy? + \*\*

A great deal of confidence	25	[170]
Quite a bit of confidence	16	
Just some confidence	16	
Very little confidence	29	
No confidence at all (VOL)	14	
Not sure	-	

<sup>\*\*</sup> Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM B).

### Turning to some other issues . . .

17. When it comes to the war in Iraq, do you think that removing Saddam Hussein from power was or was not worth the number of U.S. military casualties and the financial cost of the war?

	10/29-	10/16-		
	<u>31/04</u> +	<u> 18/04</u> +	<u>9/04</u> +	
Worth it	44	41	41	[171]
Not worth it	48	51	51	
Depends	4	4	3	
Not sure	4	4	5	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among likely voters ONLY.

18. And do you feel more confident or less confident that the war in Iraq will come to a successful conclusion?

	10/29-	10/16-		
	<u>31/04</u> +	<u> 18/04</u> +	<u>9/04</u> +	
More confident	46	45	38	[172]
Less confident	42	42	52	
Depends/some of both (VOL)	7	8	5	
Not sure	5	5	5	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among likely voters ONLY.

19. As you may know, it was recently discovered that about three hundred and eighty tons of explosives are missing from a facility in Iraq. Do you feel that the Bush administration is at fault and should be held responsible for these missing explosives, or is the Bush Administration NOT at fault and should NOT be held responsible for this? +

At fault/should be held responsible	38	[173]
Not at fault/should not be held responsible	49	
Not sure	13	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among likely voters ONLY.

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among likely voters ONLY.

19b. Yesterday, a statement was released by Osama bin Laden that said, quote, any state that does not mess with our security, has naturally guaranteed its own security, unquote. Did you see, hear or read about this statement? +

Did hear about this	74	[356]
No did not hear about this	26	
Not sure	-	

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Asked only on October 30<sup>th</sup> and 31<sup>st</sup> (594 likely voters).

19c. Does this statement by Osama bin Laden make you feel more inclined to vote for George W. Bush, more inclined to vote for John Kerry, or does it not make a difference to you either way? +1

More inclined to vote for George Bush	24	[357]
More inclined to vote for John Kerry	12	
Does not make a difference either way	62	
Not sure	2	

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Asked only on October 30<sup>th</sup> and 31<sup>st</sup> (594 likely voters).

20. Many states permit citizens to cast their votes BEFORE Election Day, by returning an absentee ballot or using other early voting procedures that are available to them. Thinking about the upcoming general election for president, which statement best applies to you? +

I have ALREADY returned an absentee ballot		
or cast an early vote	20	[174]
I have not yet voted, but I plan to return an		
absentee ballot or cast an early vote		
BEFORE Election Day	3	
I have not yet voted, and I plan to cast my vote		
in person at my polling place on Election Day	76	
Not sure	1	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among likely voters ONLY.

21. As you may know, presidents are chosen not by direct popular vote, but by the electoral college system in which each state casts electoral votes based on its population. Over the past one hundred years, with the exception of the 2000 election, the winning presidential candidate has won both the popular and electoral vote. Let us suppose in this election that one candidate were to win the popular vote and another candidate were to win the electoral vote. Who would you favor serving as the next president of the United States--the one who wins the popular vote, or the one who wins the electoral vote?

	10/29-		
	<u>31/04</u> +*	11/00+1	
The candidate who wins the popular vote	50	57	[175]
The candidate who wins the electoral vote	41	33	
Not sure	9	10	

<sup>\*</sup> Asked of one-half the respondents (FORM A).

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among likely voters ONLY.

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among likely voters ONLY.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>In November 2000, the item did not include the phrase, "with the exception of the 2000 election."

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among likely voters ONLY.

#### FACTUALS: Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

F1. Are you currently employed? (IF CURRENTLY EMPLOYED:) What type of work do you do?

(IF NOT CURRENTLY EMPLOYED:) Are you a student, a homemaker, retired, or unemployed and looking for work? +

<u>Currently Employed</u>		
Professional/ manager	24	[176-208]
White-collar worker	22	
Blue-collar worker	13	
Farmer, rancher	-	
Not Currently Employed		
Student	2	
Homemaker	8	
Retired	26	
Unemployed, looking for work	2	
Other	-	
Not sure	3	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among likely voters ONLY.

F2. What is the last grade that you completed in school? +

Grade school	} _
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<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among likely voters ONLY.

F3. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an independent, or something else? (IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:) Would you call yourself a strong (Democrat/Republican) or not a very strong (Democrat/Republican)? (IF NOT SURE, CODE AS "NOT VERY STRONG DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN.") (IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly independent? +

Strong Democrat	23	[217]
Not very strong Democrat	5	
Independent/lean Democrat	10	
Strictly independent	17	
Independent/lean Republican	8	
Not very strong Republican	5	
Strong Republican	24	
Other	4	
Not sure/nothing	4	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among likely voters ONLY.

F4.	Thinking about your	general	approach to	issues,	do you	consider	yourself to	be liberal	, moderate,	or
	conservative? +									

Liberal	18	[218]
Moderate		
Conservative		
Not sure	8	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among likely voters ONLY.

F5. Are you currently single and never married, single and living with a partner, married, separated, widowed, or divorced? +

Single	16	[219]
Single, living with partner	4	
Married	59	
Separated	1	
Widowed	7	
Divorced	10	
Other (VOL)	-	
Not sure/refused	3	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among likely voters ONLY.

F5b. Are you the parent or primary guardian of any children under the age of 18? +

Yes	33	[220]
No	64	
Not sure/refused	3	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among likely voters ONLY.

# F6a. What is your religion?

Protestant (includes Baptist, Lutheran, Methodist, Episcopal, Presbyterian, and other Christians)	51	CONTINUE	[221]
Catholic	23 2	Chin to O F7	_
Jewish Muslim	-	Skip to Q.F7	
Other	9		•
None	9	CONTINUE	
Not sure/refused	6		

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among likely voters ONLY.

# (ASK ONLY OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY ARE PROTESTANT, OTHER, NONE, OR NOT SURE IN Q.F6a.)

F6b. Would you describe yourself as either a fundamentalist or an evangelical Christian, or would you not describe yourself that way?

Fundamentalist/evangelical	21	[222]
Neither fundamentalist nor evangelical	45	
Not sure	9	
Catholic/Jewish/Muslim (Q.F6a)	25	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among likely voters ONLY.

F7. How often do you attend services at a church, synagogue, or other place of worship?

Never	17	[223]
Once a year	6	
A few times a year	18	
Once a month	5	
About twice a month	9	
Once a week or more often	39	
Not sure	6	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among likely voters ONLY.

F8. Are you a member of a labor union? (IF "NO," ASK:) Is anyone else in this household a member of a labor union? +

Labor union member	11	[224]
Labor union household	7	
Non-union household	78	
Not sure	4	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among likely voters ONLY.

F9. If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than ten thousand dollars, between ten thousand dollars and twenty thousand dollars, between thirty thousand dollars and forty thousand dollars, between forty thousand dollars and fifty thousand dollars, between fifty thousand dollars and seventy-five thousand dollars, between seventy-five thousand dollars and one hundred thousand dollars, or would the total be more than that? +

Less than \$10,000	4	[225]
Between \$10,000 and \$20,000	5	
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000	9	
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000	9	
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000	11	
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000	17	
Between \$75,000 and \$100,000	13	
More than \$100,000	13	
Not sure/refused	19	

<sup>+</sup> Results shown reflect responses among likely voters ONLY.